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Summary of Foreign Policy Aspects of the
U.S. Outer Space Program

INTRODUCTION

1. This paper provides a summary of the development of U.S. foreign policy positions and international actions relating to the U.S. outer space program, along with annotations as to the development of decisions within the Government on which those positions and actions were based. There are enclosed as Annex A selected general statements made by the President and Secretary of State and as Annex D a list of pertinent statements and documents.

2. At the outset there is a description of the major phases in which these developments have occurred. The balance of the paper deals separately with those areas of outer space activity wherein foreign policy positions and international activities have applied, i.e.:

a. Legislation and basic policy documents of the National Security Council and National Aeronautics and Space Council.

b. Disarmament.

c. The UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

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- d. Bilateral cooperation with the USSR.
- e. Bilateral cooperation with other countries.
- f. Multilateral cooperation outside the United Nations.
- g. Communications satellites.
- h. U.S. military space programs.

MAJOR PHASES

3. U.S. foreign policy and international actions concerning outer space have developed in three major phases, i.e.:

(a) an initial phase from early 1957 to late 1958 during which these matters were dealt with almost exclusively in the context of disarmament negotiations; (b) a second phase from late 1958 to late 1961 during which steps looking toward international cooperation in the "peaceful use" of outer space were taken apart from the continuing disarmament negotiations and during which the ground work was laid for the current phase; and (c) the current phase which commenced in the late fall of 1961 and might be characterized as a breakthrough in the development of cooperation in peaceful uses.

a. The initial phase involved disarmament negotiations under the auspices of the UN and correspondence between President Eisenhower and Chairmen Bulganin and Khrushchev. The

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U.S. proposed international supervision of activities in outer space, their limitation to peaceful and scientific purposes, prelaunch inspection of missiles and satellites, and the development of adequate systems of international control.

b. The second phase commenced with the proposal made by the U.S. at the 13th UN General Assembly in the fall of 1958, that the question of the peaceful uses of outer space be separated from that of disarmament. The 13th UNGA established an Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. During the 14th Session in 1959, it created a permanent expanded committee. During this period informal approaches to the USSR seeking limited bilateral cooperation were made, but were without effect. Meanwhile, through bilateral arrangements with other countries, NASA commenced the development of its present extensive network of international cooperative arrangements. The bases were laid for multilateral cooperation in support of U.S. experimental communications satellites and for the world-wide use of data derived from U.S. experimental meteorological satellites. In separate disarmament negotiations, conducted largely in the Ten-nation Disarmament Committee, the U.S. proposed prior notification of missile and satellite launchings and prohibition of the placing in orbit of weapons of mass destruction subject to adequate verification.

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c. The current phase, which commenced at the time of the 16th General Assembly in the fall of 1961, has brought a significant breakthrough in the development of international cooperation in peaceful uses. The Assembly adopted in December a major resolution dealing with a broad area of outer space activity. The UN Outer Space Committee has been activated. The USSR has been brought into direct technical discussions on specific cooperative projects. The use of communications and meteorological satellites has become the subject of specific international arrangements involving the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunications Union. Meanwhile, disarmament negotiations affecting outer space have proceeded through specific disarmament plans and a draft treaty presented by the U.S. to the 17-nation Disarmament Committee.

4. The key turning points in this evolution of policy and activity were (a) the decision in 1958 to separate from the disarmament negotiations those steps which might be taken toward the development of international cooperation in peaceful uses, and (b) the breakthrough which occurred in the fall of 1961 when the UN achieved positive action in the field of peaceful uses and the Soviets were brought to participate, not only in the UN committee itself, but in direct bilateral discussions

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with the U.S. on specific outer space projects on which the two countries might cooperate.

LEGISLATION AND BASIC POLICY DOCUMENTS OF THE
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND
NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE COUNCIL

5. The National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 (adopted July 29, 1958) provides the basic authority and direction for United States policy on the international aspects of space programs. Title I Section 101 of the Act states "The Congress hereby declares that it is the policy of the United States that activities in space should be devoted to peaceful purposes for the benefit of all mankind." The Act calls for the preservation of the role of the United States as a leader in aeronautical and space science and also for cooperation by the United States with other nations and groups of nations in the peaceful application of space programs. The Act recognizes that the discoveries of space science research will have military significance.

6. The national policy regarding activities in outer space, as developed by the Executive Branch has been formulated in three NSC and NASC papers, i.e.: NSC 5520, approved by the President on May 27, 1955, entitled "U.S. Scientific Satellite Programs"; NSC 5814/1, approved by the President on August 18, 1958, entitled "Preliminary U.S. Policy on Outer Space"; and a

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statement by the National Aeronautics and Space Council (NASC), approved by the President on January 26, 1960, entitled "U.S. Policy on Outer Space." Each of these statements noted that the goals of the U.S. in space research include the need to compete with the Soviet Union and to enhance the prestige of the U.S. NSC 5814/1 and the NASC paper also contained policy statements on the disarmament aspects of outer space (covered in a separate section of this paper.)

7. Five main aspects of the national policy in addition to disarmament were discussed in the NSC and NASC papers:

a. International cooperation - NSC 5520 contained a proposal to launch a small satellite under international auspices, hopefully in the IGY program. NSC 5814/1 and the NASC paper broadened this to specify that the United States should cooperate with other nations (including the USSR) in bilateral programs, in multilateral efforts and in non-governmental forums like the Committee on Space Research. Both of the latter papers also held that the aspirations of the Free World should be identified with U.S. sponsored space programs. NSC 5814/1 stated that the U.S. should recognize UN interests and should consider ways to participate in international cooperation through UN auspices. The NASC paper stated that the U.S. would support the United Nations in facilitating international cooperation.

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b. Freedom of Space - The first NSC paper (No. 5520) on space noted the principle of "Freedom of Space" and held that any space research programs should be so conducted as to preserve the U.S. freedom of action in the field of satellites. It stated that no actions should be taken in space research or international negotiations which would require the prior consent of other nations for U.S. space projects. NSC 5814/1 and the NASC paper stated that the U.S. should consider as a possible position the right of free transit in outer space of objects not equipped to physically interfere with legitimate activities of other nations (NSC 5814/1) or inflict injury or damage (NASC paper). NSC 5814/1 and the NASC paper stated that the U.S. should reserve its position on a definition of the boundary between air space and outer space. The NASC paper also stated that some international agreement should be sought to provide for the return of spacecraft and personnel from other nations if accidental landings occur and further that there should be some agreed standard for liability for damages caused by impacts of space craft on the earth.

c. Registry of Objects in Space - NSC 5814/1 stated that an international agreement should be sought to maintain a full and complete public record of satellite orbits and

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emission frequencies. This was modified by the NASC paper to "some form of identification and registration of space vehicles which is to the net advantage of the national security."

d. Openness of U.S. Space Programs - NSC 5814/1 stated that the U.S. should liberalize the general availability of information about space programs to take advantage of the situation created by the fact that the USSR had achieved a lead in space technology. The NASC paper stated that the U.S. should develop means and take measures to insure that the U.S. leads the USSR in making information from space programs available to the world at large.

DISARMAMENT

8. The United States initiated international discussion of the control of outer space in a Memorandum on Disarmament submitted to the First Committee of the 12th General Assembly of the United Nations on January 12, 1957. It stated that:

"The United States proposes that the first step toward the objective of assuring that future developments in outer space would be devoted exclusively to peaceful and scientific purposes would be to bring the testing of such objects under international inspection and participation. In this matter, as in other matters, the United States are ready to participate in fair, balanced, reliable systems of control."

Policy guidance: NSC Action No. 1553, November 21, 1956, Annex, paragraph 5 (Secret):

"5. It is the purpose of the United States, as part of an armaments control system, to seek to assure

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that the sending of objects into outer space shall be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes and that under effective control the production of objects designed for travel in or projection through outer space for military purposes shall be prohibited.

Therefore, the United States to propose that, contingent upon the establishment of effective inspection to verify the fulfillment of the commitment, all states to provide for international inspection of and participation in tests of outer space objects."

9. A Four Power (U.S., U.K., France, Canada) Working paper tabled at the London Disarmament Subcommittee meetings on August 29, 1957, provided, as part of an interdependent package proposal on disarmament, that:

"All parties to the convention agree that within three months after the entry into effect of the convention they will cooperate in the establishment of a technical committee to study the design of an inspection system which would make it possible to assure that the sending of objects through outer space will be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes."

Policy guidance: 9 (Secret) "United States Position on First Phase of Disarmament," approved by the President on June 11, 1957, with revisions of June 19 and August 14, 1957; paragraph 12:

"12. The parties will agree that within three months after the effective date of the agreement they will cooperate in the establishment of a technical committee to study the design of an inspection system which would make it possible to assure that the sending of objects through outer space would be exclusively for peaceful and scientific purposes."

10. In a statement before the First Committee of the 12th General Assembly, on October 10, 1957, Ambassador Lodge, in

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restating the Western August 29 disarmament proposals, which had been rejected by the Soviet Union, announced that the United States was prepared to separate for priority treatment the proposal for the establishment of a technical committee on outer space control from the other elements of the package.

"If there is general agreement to proceed with this study on a multilateral basis, the United States is prepared to join in this initiative without awaiting the conclusion of negotiations on the other substantive proposals."

Policy guidance: This change was authorized by telegram from the Secretary of State to the U.S. Mission to the UN.

11. In a letter to Soviet Premier Bulganin on January 12, 1958, President Eisenhower included the following in a list of proposals on disarmament:

"I propose that we agree that outer space should be used only for peaceful purposes. We face a decisive moment in history in relation to this matter. Both the Soviet Union and the United States are now using outer space for the testing of missiles designed for military purposes. The time to stop is now...Should not outer space be dedicated to the peaceful uses of mankind and denied to the purposes of war?"

The President also proposed joint technical study of the possibilities of verification and supervision of this proposal (and others) without commitment as to the ultimate acceptance of the proposition.

12. A "Memorandum by the United Kingdom, the United States, and France Concerning the Agenda for a Summit Conference,"

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handed to Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on May 28, 1958,
stated:

"5. Use of outer space for peaceful purposes...The three governments propose that the Soviet Union join in the establishment of a group of experts who would make the necessary technical studies for determining what measures are required to assure that outer space is used for peaceful purposes only."

Policy guidance: This document was prepared under the guidance of the Special NSC Committee established to make preparations for a possible Summit Meeting (NSC Action No. 1893). This body, which came to be known as the "Committee of Principals," has continued to oversee formulation of United States policy on disarmament.

13. In an explanatory memorandum of September 2, 1958, accompanying a request to the Secretary General for inclusion of an item on the agenda of the 13th General Assembly, the United States asked the Assembly to declare itself on the separability of the disarmament and peaceful uses aspects of outer space and proposed that it create an Ad Hoc Committee to study what measures of international cooperation might be fostered by the United Nations. A fuller description of the peaceful uses demarche is contained in the section of this paper entitled "UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space." Later in the session, Ambassador Lodge repeated the United States offer to join in a technical study of the means to assure that outer space would be used only for peaceful purposes.

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14. "A Plan for General and Complete Disarmament in a Free and Peaceful World," submitted on March 16, 1960 to the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament meeting in Geneva, by the Delegations of the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, France and Italy, contained the following provisions concerning outer space activities:

Stage I

"The following measures are proposed with the recommendation that they be undertaken forthwith:...

F. Joint studies will be undertaken immediately on the following subjects:

1. Measures to assure compliance with an agreement that no nation shall place into orbit or station in outer space weapons of mass destruction, including provision for on-site inspection.

2. Measures to assure compliance with an agreement on prior notification of missile launchings, according to predetermined and mutually agreed criteria, and on declarations to the International Disarmament Organization of locations of launching sites, and places of manufacture, of such missiles."

Stage II

"The following measures will be undertaken as rapidly as possible upon successful completion of relevant preparatory studies outlined in I:

A. The prohibition against placing into orbit or stationing in outer space vehicles capable of mass destruction to be effective immediately after the installation and effective operation of an agreed control system to verify this measure.

B. Prior notification to the International Disarmament Organization of proposed launchings of missiles according to predetermined and mutually agreed criteria, and declarations of locations of launching sites, and places of manufacture of such missiles, with agreed

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verification including on-site inspection of launching sites of such missiles."

Stage III

"Below are additional measures which are regarded as necessary for achieving the ultimate goal:...

B.3. Measures to ensure the use of outer space for peaceful purposes only."

Policy guidance: June 11, 1957 U.S. Position.

15. On June 27, 1960 the United States delegation submitted to the Ten Nation Committee a "Program for General and Complete Disarmament Under Effective International Control" which differed considerably from the March 16 Five Power Paper with regard to outer space control. This paper provided that, in the first stage of a disarmament agreement:

"2. The placing into orbit or stationing in outer space of vehicles carrying weapons capable of mass destruction shall be prohibited.

3. To give greater protection against surprise attack, (A) prior notification to the International Disarmament Control Organization of all proposed launchings of space vehicles and missiles and their planned tracks;...

4. Declaration of and institution of on-site inspection at mutually agreed operational air bases, missile launching pads, submarine and naval bases in order to establish a basis for controls over nuclear delivery systems in subsequent stages."

In stages two and three, the paper provided for partial and then complete destruction or conversion to peaceful uses of delivery vehicles for weapons of mass destruction other than those allotted to an international peace force and agreed

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retention. No mention was made of control of other than means of delivering weapons of mass destruction.

16. In his address to the 14th General Assembly on September 22, 1960 President Eisenhower proposed that:

"1. We agree that celestial bodies are not subject to national appropriation by any claims of sovereignty.

2. We agree that the nations of the world shall not engage in warlike activities on these bodies.

3. We agree, subject to appropriate verification, that no nation will put into orbit or station in outer space weapons of mass destruction. All launchings of space craft should be verified in advance by the United Nations.

4. We press forward with a program of international cooperation for constructive peaceful uses of outer space under the United Nations..."

17. "The United States Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World," submitted to the 16th General Assembly by President Kennedy on September 25, 1961, contained the following provisions concerning outer space:

"Stage I...E. To Promote to the Peaceful Use of Outer Space:

(a) The placing into orbit or stationing in outer space of weapons capable of producing mass destruction shall be prohibited.

(b) States shall give advance notification to participating states and to the International Disarmament Organization of launchings of space vehicles and missiles, together with the track of the vehicle."

Provision was also made in all three stages for the progressive destruction or conversion of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles.

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18. On April 18, 1962, the United States Delegation to the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference submitted an "Outline of Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World," which proposed for Stage One of a disarmament program:

- "1. Prohibition of Weapons of Mass Destruction in Orbit.
The parties to the Treaty would agree not to place in orbit weapons capable of producing mass destruction.
2. Peaceful Cooperation in Space.
The Parties to the Treaty would agree to support increased international cooperation in peaceful uses of outer space in the United Nations or through other appropriate arrangements.
3. Notification and Pre-launch Inspection.
With respect to the launching of space vehicles and missiles:
 - (a) Those Parties to the Treaty which conducted launchings of space vehicles or missiles would provide advance notification of such launchings to other Parties to the Treaty and to the International Disarmament Organization together with the track of the space vehicle or missile. Such advance notification would be provided on a timely basis to permit pre-launch inspection of the space vehicle or missile to be launched.
 - (b) In accordance with arrangements which would be set forth in the annex on verification, the International Disarmament Organization would conduct pre-launch inspection of space vehicles and missiles and would establish and operate any arrangements necessary for detecting unreported launchings.
4. Limitations on Production and on Related Activities.
The production, stockpiling and testing of boosters for space vehicles would be subject to agreed limitations. Such activities would be monitored by the International Disarmament Organization in accordance with arrangements which would be set forth in the annex on verification."

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UN COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

19. Commencing with the proposals made by Ambassador Lodge in a letter to the UN Secretary General in early September 1958 and by Secretary Dulles in his address before the General Assembly on September 18, 1958, the United States has urged that the question of the peaceful uses of outer space be dealt with separately from the disarmament aspects of outer space. The United States proposed that the United Nations create an Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which would report on the "nature of specific projects of international cooperation in outer space which would be undertaken under United Nations auspices." Senator Johnson, as Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Space and Astronautics, addressed the First Committee of the General Assembly in mid-November, 1958, supporting the proposal for such a committee and making it clear that the Executive and Legislative Branches of the U.S. Government were united in support of the principle of the use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

20. On December 13, 1958, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 1348 (XIII) which created an 18-nation Ad Hoc Committee and charged it to report to the 14th Session of the General Assembly in 1959 on the "area of international cooperation and programs in the peaceful uses of outer space which

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could appropriately be undertaken under the United Nations auspices to the benefit of states irrespective of the state of their economic and scientific development." This Committee, which had no responsibility for the disarmament aspects of outer space activity, submitted a report on July 14, 1959, which surveyed the activities of international bodies in the field of outer space and outlined ways in which the United Nations might assist international scientific cooperation. The report also discussed various legal problems which might arise from outer space activities. The Soviet Union objected to the alleged unbalanced composition of the Ad Hoc Committee and, along with other Bloc members and some neutral members, refused to participate in the work of the committee.

21. During the 14th Session of the UN General Assembly in the fall of 1959 agreement was reached with the Soviet Union as to the composition of an expanded and permanent outer space committee. On December 12 the General Assembly adopted Resolution 1472 (XIV) which established a permanent 24-nation UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. This Committee was charged to review the area of international cooperation, study practical and feasible means for giving effect to programs

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in the peaceful use of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices, and study the nature of emerging legal problems. The Committee was also assigned responsibility for planning an international scientific conference of interested members of the UN and members of the specialized agencies for the exchange of experience in the peaceful uses of outer space. Throughout 1960 and 1961 the United States attempted to arrange with the Soviet Union and other countries for the organization of that permanent committee and the initiation of its substantive work, but without success. No action was taken in this matter by the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly in the fall of 1960.

22. During the summer of 1961 there was developed in the Department of State a group of outer space proposals which were designed for submission at the 16th Session of the UN General Assembly in the form of a draft UN resolution. It was hoped that these proposals would lead to active, substantive work within the UN on matters which had been identified in the Ad Hoc Committee Report as suitable for the UN and its specialized agencies. They were based on policies which have been noted earlier in this report and included a proposal that "states launching objects into orbit or sustained space transit should

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furnish data such as orbital or transit characteristics as soon as these have been determined to the Secretary General for the purpose of registration of these launchings".

23. These proposals were discussed in detail on August 29, 1961 at a meeting in the White House attended by Mr. Arthur

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Schlesinger and members of the President's Science Advisory Committee, NASA, and representatives of the Department of State. They were then taken up with the Department of Defense, and on September 14, 1961, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs wrote Under Secretary Ball noting the Defense Department's concern that we should avoid any attempt in the UN to define the limits of outer space or to limit the military use of space. Otherwise he expressed no concern over the proposals. On September 23, 1961, Assistant Secretary Cleveland sent a memorandum to Arthur Schlesinger at the White House, reporting that a revision of the draft UN space resolution had been submitted to NASA and Defense and "...has now received full clearance from both agencies, except for the definition of space..." On October 31, 1961, the Department of State sent a memorandum to the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, the Executive Secretary of the NASC, the Department of Defense, NASA, and the Weather Bureau enclosing a final version of the outer space proposals for the 16th UN General Assembly and noting that they were being discussed in detail with the United Kingdom and would be discussed prior to presentation at the UN with other friendly countries and with the Soviet Union.

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24. During the 16th Session of the UN General Assembly the United States introduced these proposals in the First Committee in the form of a draft resolution which, subject to certain revisions, was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 20 as UNGA Resolution 1721 (XVI). A copy of that resolution is attached as Annex B.

(NOTE: *with reference to the above the Department of Defense has completed as follows*)

25. In preparation for the meeting of the UN Outer Space Committee in March, 1962--which was called for in that Resolution--a preliminary meeting was held in the Department of State on February 2 with representatives of NASA, the staff of the NASC, the President's Special Assistant for Science and Technology, the Weather Bureau, Federal Communications Commission, Justice Department, Department of Defense, Atomic Energy Commission, Central Intelligence Agency, and USIA. On the basis of that meeting a full position paper was drawn up and discussed with the same group on March 9. At that time certain modifications were suggested and the paper was given approval. The position paper was cast in its final version on March 13, 1962. The U.S. proposals for the work of the UN Committee were submitted by Ambassador Plimpton in his opening speech before the Committee on March 19.

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26. On February 9 the Department of State had requested nomination of four Congressional Advisers for the U.S. Delegation to the Space Committee. Congressmen Miller and Fulton were nominated by the Speaker of the House on March 1, and a briefing session was held for them in the Department of State on March 15. The Vice President nominated Senators Cannon and Smith on March 15 and Assistant Secretary of State Cleveland gave them a special briefing on March 16.

27. In preparation for the current meetings of the Technical and Legal Subcommittees of the UN Outer Space Committee, the Department based its work on the position paper which had been agreed for the March meeting of the Committee, since the Subcommittees were essentially requested to implement proposals put forward in that meeting. The Legal portion of the March position paper was supplemented by three talking papers on liability for space vehicle accidents, return of space vehicles and personnel, and a Soviet proposal to ban military reconnaissance satellites. These papers were cleared with DOD, NASA and ACDA and were later circulated to all departments and agencies which had cleared the March position paper. On the basis of the March paper, an outline of a position paper for the technical Subcommittee was prepared by the Department of State on

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April 26, and on May 7 an inter-Departmental working group composed of representatives from NASA, DOD, USUN and the Department of State drew up a detailed draft of the paper. This draft was agreed in a subsequent meeting of that group on May 11. The position paper was cast in final form on May 12 and was circulated to all Departments and Agencies which had cleared the basic March position paper. Although specific clearance had been received from the Department of Defense, Under Secretary Charyk of the Air Force on May 25 wrote Deputy Under Secretary Johnson to express concern over the proposals calling for national reports on space plans and activities. On May 26 the Department of State accordingly telegraphed the Delegation in Geneva, cautioning it that in its statements on this subject it must make clear that any information to be provided would be on a voluntary basis and at the discretion of the reporting state. The U.S. suggestions with regard to the work of the Technical and Legal Subcommittees were presented on May 28 in speeches made by Dr. Homer E. Newell, Jr., and Mr. Leonard C. Meeker. On May 17 Senators Cannon and Smith had been briefed on the positions which had been developed for use in the Technical and Legal Subcommittees. A record of this briefing was sent Congressmen Miller and Fulton, who had been unable to attend the May 17th meeting.

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28. There is attached as Annex C a detailed summary of the manner in which the United States has complied with the provision of UNGA resolution 1721 (XVI) which calls for furnishing information to the UN for registration of space launchings.

BILATERAL COOPERATION WITH THE USSR

29. Following a telegraphic exchange between Chairman Khrushchev and President Kennedy on February 21 and 22, 1962, in connection with the Glenn flight, the United States undertook to develop several specific proposals which might be presented to Premier Khrushchev as a basis for discussing bilateral cooperation between the two countries. On February 23 the Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs issued National Security Action Memorandum No. 129 which charged the Secretary of State, in cooperation with other interested agencies, to develop "new and concrete proposals, together with recommendations as to the best way of opening discussions with Soviet representatives on these matters." A draft letter from the President to Chairman Khrushchev was prepared by a working group composed of representatives of the Department of State, the President's Special Assistant for Science and Technology and NASA and was agreed at a meeting on March 5 which

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was held by the Under Secretary for Political Affairs and included the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, representatives of the Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, NASA, and the CIA. That letter, as forwarded to the White House the following day, was sent to Chairman Khrushchev by President Kennedy on March 7, 1962. During the following two weeks the President designated Dr. Dryden of NASA as the U.S. representative for technical discussions with Soviet representatives and, in coordination with other interested agencies, the Department of State promulgated a Policy Directive (PD/S/AE-1) on March 19 which stated the objective and the plan of action for these technical discussions.

30. On March 20, 1962 Chairman Khrushchev replied to President Kennedy naming Professor Blagonravov as his technical representative for these discussions and suggesting certain specific areas of possible cooperation. The initial talks between Dr. Dryden and Prof. Blagonravov were held in New York City March 27-30, 1962. It was agreed that further talks would be held in Washington during the meetings of COSPAR in early May or in Geneva during the meetings of the subcommittees of the UN Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in early June. On April 24, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs met

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with the Executive Secretary of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology, the Administrator of NASA, the Director of the Weather Bureau, and representatives of the Department of Defense and CIA to review the initial talks and to establish the course of action which should be taken in further talks with the Soviets. The results of that meeting were reported to the President in a memorandum of May 16, 1962, from the Secretary of State. The second series of technical discussions between Dr. Dryden and Prof. Blagonravov are now taking place in Geneva.

BILATERAL COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

31. Pursuant to Section 205 of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 NASA cooperates with a large number of foreign governments in various phases of space science research and experimentation. Each cooperating nation is expected to assume full responsibility for its own efforts including funding their own portions of a joint effort. Cooperative projects must have scientific validity and mutual interest and the results are made available to the international scientific community. The programs fall into three categories, i.e.: (a) the

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launching of experimental payloads prepared by foreign scientists by means of U.S. launch vehicles, as in the recent instance of the U.K. ARIEL: (b) programs of ground based research abroad coordinated with orbiting space experiments, as in the case of U.S. meteorological and communications satellites; and (c) exchanges of personnel under training and fellowship programs. Altogether these programs involve cooperative or exchange arrangements with some fifty-five countries.

MULTILATERAL COOPERATION OUTSIDE THE UN

32. In addition to international organizations of long standing whose work already involves outer space activity (e.g.: the World Meteorological Organization and the International Telecommunications Union), two organizations have been recently created in Europe in the field of space exploration which will soon offer a significant opportunity for cooperation. These are the European Space Research Organization (ESRO), which will coordinate the activities of a dozen European countries in scientific space exploration, and the European Launcher Development Organization (ELDO), which will combine the efforts of seven European countries in the development of space launching vehicles. The United States has actively encouraged recent moves toward

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a cooperative scientific space effort in Europe which would be concerned with the development of scientific satellite experiments and related research and has offered to place foreign payloads in orbit or to make launch vehicles available for use by European countries, or organizations such as ESRO, either through the sale (SCOUT or THOR) or through the use (ATLAS as well as SCOUT and THOR) of launch vehicles for cooperative experiments. This offer to place foreign payloads in orbit was made initially by the Secretary of State at the meeting of the NATO Council in Oslo. The over-all U.S. policy on sale of launch vehicles was delineated in a Department of State circular instruction (CW 868) on July 29, 1961.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES

33. Probably the first government-directed effort in anticipation of the use of repeater-type satellites for communications occurred in 1959 when the United States Delegation introduced at the Ordinary Radio Conference sponsored by the International Telecommunication Union a request that radio frequencies be allocated for space research. On January 1, 1961, President Eisenhower announced that he had directed NASA "to encourage private industry to apply its resources toward the earliest practicable utilization of space technology for

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commercial civil communication requirements." His statement was based on a Cabinet paper proposed by Dr. Glennan of NASA and approved on December 20, 1960. President Kennedy, in his State of the Union Message of January 30, 1961, invited "all nations...including the Soviet Union...to join with us in developing...a new communications satellite program...". Subsequently, on June 15, 1961, the President asked the Vice President, as Chairman of the NASC, to have the Space Council make the necessary studies and policy recommendations for the optimum development and operation of a world-wide communications satellite system. There was then prepared under the direction of the Executive Secretary of the NASC a policy paper entitled "Communications Satellite Policy" which was forwarded to the President on July 15. On July 24, 1962 the President issued a statement which outlined U.S. policy concerning the development and use of communication satellites and stated that he again invited "all nations to participate in a communications satellite system, in the interest of world peace and closer brotherhood among peoples throughout the world".

34. On November 14, 1961, the Executive Secretary of the NASC convened a group of representatives from the Department of State, Defense, Justice, NASA, the FCC, the Bureau of the

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Budget, the President's Special Assistant for Science and Technology, USIA, and the Office of Emergency Planning, to undertake the task of drafting legislation which would authorize the establishment of a domestic communications satellite corporation. Vice President Johnson sent the final draft text to the President on December 1, 1961. In his State of the Union Message of January 11, 1962, President Kennedy stated that he would soon be sending to the Congress a request for legislation to govern the financing and operation of an international communication satellite system in a manner consistent with the public interest and our foreign policy. On February 7, 1962, in identical letters to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, he transmitted to the Congress his proposed legislation to establish a communications satellite corporation. The Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs testified in support of the President's legislation before the Senate Committees on Aeronautical and Space Sciences and Commerce and before the House of Representatives Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, stressing the point that the transmission of communications by satellite had important foreign policy implications because of its peaceful purposes and that the uses of this new medium for the

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transmission of communications would be available to many of the nations of the world both developed and underdeveloped. On May 3, 1962 the House of Representatives passed its version of this legislation which included all of the principal foreign policy considerations contained in the President's legislation.

35. In implementing the policy statements which have been made on the use of communications satellites, there has been a concerted effort to pave the way for the time when the satellites will become "commercial". Preliminary views on frequency allocations for space radio communications were developed by the United States and were published on September 7, 1961. The preparation of that document was the first effort by any nation to provide the necessary frequency allocations for space satellites. It will be the basis for the U.S. position at the Extraordinary Radio Administration Conference to be convened in Geneva in the fall of 1963. Further effort has been directed in assisting the International Telecommunication Union in fulfilling the task directed to it in the UNGA Resolution of December 20, 1961.

U.S. MILITARY OUTER SPACE PROGRAMS

36. The inter-relationship of the policies and activities described in this paper on the one hand and U.S. military outer

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space programs on the other--particularly reconnaissance programs--lies largely in the areas of disarmament, the UN registration of space launches and the extent to which the U.S. may become committed to report to the UN, or otherwise publicly, on its over-all space programs. These aspects have been dealt with in the various policy statements and position papers noted in the preceding sections of this paper. It may be worthwhile to note here, however, three recent actions of particular interest with respect to U.S. military activities in outer space, i.e.:

(a) the promulgation on March 23, 1962 of a Defense Department directive requiring classification of all space activities;

(b) the exception to that directive which was authorized by the Secretary of Defense in April, 1962, to enable the handling of certain aspects of Project ANNA on an unclassified basis.

(c) National Security Action Memorandum No. 156 of May 26, 1962.

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